

On Becoming Parents

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THE coming of a baby is destined to transform fundamentally the life of both father and mother. For at least twenty years—perhaps for life—can neither of them quite call their souls their own, nor recapture the old independence and freedom of action. From now on they are literally tied, in a sense that may be profoundly frightening to some and certainly be sobering for all.

But despite the fact that from the point of view of society the responsibility for the rearing of the child rests equally upon both, there remain psychological differences in their relationship to their children which begin immediately with pregnancy. These differences, though destined to undergo modification, characteristically persist as the essential pattern of the attitude which each parent brings. Broadly speaking, it might be said that the mother's attitude is more intense, less rational, her life more readily filled with the minutiae of her child's existence than the father's—and that his is usually characterized by greater objectivity, more perspective, and a greater interest and capacity for relating his children's needs to the demands of life other than those presented by the home.

For a woman who accepts and rejoices fully in her role in life, motherhood actually begins with her pregnancy. For her there is a fresh and deepened vitality. Her sympathies seem imperceptibly to widen and include new appreciation of and joy in all natural life. She may for the first, and perhaps the only, time come close to the emotions associated with the creative experience of the artist. During these months she is in the process of developing a living relationship with a present and sentient child.

For the father, however, this whole period is likely to be merely an ordeal of waiting with as good grace as he can muster. The baby has not yet become

real to him, is not yet a source of pride and pleasure. Such waiting may be easy enough, if his wife retains her health and good spirits and if financial worry does not too greatly color the future picture with anxiety. But those deeper emotional alterations which his wife may be already undergoing scarcely touch him at this period. Even with the child's birth, although his bosom may swell with customary pride at the new-won title of fatherhood, this apparent rapture is often deceptive. It may be altogether unrelated to a real grasp of the full implications of the event and mark no greater epoch in the development of emotional maturity than does the rapture of the child on the birthday whereon he finds himself ten instead of nine. Many men, if they are honest, are likely to experience a feeling of disappointment when introduced to their first-born, and display an indifference wholly incomprehensible and often deeply disturbing to their wives, who may have been awaiting this moment for their husband's feelings to approximate their own. In the father's heart it was a human being, a companion, whom he desired, not this subhuman creature unaccountably worshiped by the women. Perhaps not until the baby is six months old or more does he begin to make its acquaintance or to feel upon his soul the impact of actual parenthood.

In a strange way, and despite the joint responsibility, pregnancy and its mysteries are a woman's private concern. If the husband would understand his wife at this time he must understand her as a being apart, not by analogy with himself. Her illness or her new vigor, her depressions and her ecstasy are all equally inexplicable and threaten equally to shut him out. She has developed a new self-sufficiency which is the more puzzling because it is wholly subjective. From what deep and secret sources does this new attitude

spring? We recognize that from the biological point of view the process of procreation is the fulfillment of woman's physical destiny. It is not surprising that the sense of psychic well-being associated with normal physiological functioning is particularly pronounced in most women during pregnancy, even when it entails a certain amount of discomfort. But not only is the expectant mother reaching the highest point of biological function; she is also serving as the vehicle for the reproduction of the race; she is being made use of for purposes far beyond the individual scope and may well feel herself a vital part of a great racial force. On the psychological side the developing child is, after all, the newest link in the expanding chain of family continuity. It is true that the child represents a concrete expression of the love of husband and wife for one another; but beyond this it is as though all the love with which the woman had been surrounded in her own childhood has been concentrated within her, and, incarnate in the child, irradiates her being. The child represents, too, not only an emotional link with the past but one with the future as well. In the course of the mother's life she has built up ideals of achievement, of conduct, and of purpose for herself, which have probably been realized only partially. The hope of fulfillment is shifted to the child, who may have who-knows-what great potentialities. The child seems to become at one and the same time both the representative of the mother's ego-strivings and their gratification. It is no wonder that her feeling of self-fulfillment is at its highest.

Inner Doubts and Outward Appearances

BUT for many reasons—biological, psychic, and social—the father is at best a distant spectator, rather than an actor, in this great drama of fulfillment. Though previously the young couple may have considered themselves all and all to one another, he may now feel a subtle barrier between them. In his distress, and as his only guide, he is likely to clutch at all of those standards laid down by tradition concerning what is expected of a husband under these circumstances—special consideration for the wife, forbearance, the assuming of the burdens of anxiety. He demands these things of himself and he performs them, yet he may be torn all the while with inner doubts.

Does she, for instance, really *have* to be so sick every morning? He has heard rumors that such

nausea is regarded by some physicians as "largely psychological." What truth is there in this? It is possible to give the puzzled young husband some clues which should help him interpret this symptom in his wife. It is true that neurotic women, unready or unwilling to become mothers, show their resentment in many ways, of which nausea may be one. But we also know that with women pregnant for the first time, more than half are nauseated during the early months, and all of these are obviously not unwilling to be mothers. Although much about nausea in pregnancy is yet to be learned, it is certain that there is some connection between it and the physiological changes of this period. Only if sympathy is exacted as though it were a reparation for a grievance suffered need the husband suspect his wife of capitalizing her discomfort.

Contrasting Attitudes

HE MAY also find her preoccupation with her own affairs irritating, even if it is happy preoccupation. Is it perhaps just simple selfishness? She appears to feel a sudden renewed kinship with her mother, or even with her aunt—ties which he had never before realized bound her so deeply. They hold long conversations concerning endless details of baby lore and pregnancy lore which, it would seem to him, should all be disposed of in half an hour's instruction from doctor or nurse. And all the while she regards him and his interests (their old mutual interests) as through a fog. He is stung by the thought that he no longer occupies first place in her life, that he has sunk to the role of mere provider, that he is being made use of for purposes alien to himself—nature's purposes perhaps, but still alien.

His thoughts turn to the other young women they know. Once the baby is there he hopes that his wife will not completely bury herself in the nursery as does Mary Y. But Jane R., who boasted that she "never knew she was pregnant," seems even more disturbing to him. She had spent the full eight-hour days at her unusually exacting job, maintaining a belligerently "business as usual" attitude until she left for the hospital. She had even turned all the details of layette buying over to her mother, who "had more time." And when the baby was four weeks old, Jane left him in the care of "the best nurse money could buy" and went across the continent on a six weeks' business trip.

Rather to his surprise, the young man discovers

that he feels an even stronger distaste for this attitude. Yet Mary's refusal to leave the nursery and Jane's refusal to stay in it seem almost equally perverse. Women are queer! He has, perhaps unknowingly, put his finger on two extreme types of reaction to maternity. His intuition is sound in hoping that his wife will not be like either Mary or Jane.

Mary abandons herself to the care of her infants, and glories in her sentimental devotion. Her horizon scarcely extends in any direction beyond the nursery. And there is, particularly in the depression era, ample social sanction on which she can draw to defend her position. She feels that she is nobly "doing her bit" when she stays strictly at home and takes all the care of the baby herself. She is likely to hold over the household a kind of tyranny which is the more difficult to identify because it wears the cloak of maternity. To such women, pregnancy and motherhood may be a too welcome chapter of their lives, one which allows them to evade and postpone problems of adult life from which they shrink. These problems may center in marriage, in aspects of their personal social lives, in economic difficulties, or in other equally inescapable facts of adult experience. From these they run away with a feeling of hopeless inadequacy, and turn to the nursery in order to recapture that sense of being protected and sheltered which was theirs as children.

The woman at the other extreme is also running away from reality. Her overemphasis on business may be a screen behind which lurks a denial of her womanhood, and an envy of the man's world. In the end, her role as mother can seldom be escaped; and fortunately it often happens that such a woman gradually achieves an emotional reorientation which makes it possible for her to continue her professional work without denying the claims of maternity.

Masculine and Feminine Points of View

THE husband has no way of seeing the inner fears and desires which make "women queer." Evidently there is no pleasing him, and the conclusion that he has the impulses of a spoiled child does not help to clear his quandary. He ends by putting the whole matter stoically from him while waiting for time to deliver him.

The father's state of mind during those early months, before he has found his child as an individual whom he can love and enjoy, is likely, unless he is exceptionally mature, to be compounded,

along with genuine happiness, of feelings of anxiety and frustration. He is usually silent about both, partly because his code again demands that he be so, and partly because he is hiding his doubts from himself as well. The financial anxiety is greater than his wife can ever realize, since for a man the ability to support a family is a psychological as well as a practical necessity—his very badge of manhood. A woman, even if she has had considerable business experience and is well aware of the part that economics plays in life, can often maintain a cheer superior to his, largely because her self-respect, her entire feeling of personal adequacy, are not threatened as are her husband's. Financial difficulties may come; she may have to economize to the bitter limit; she may have to go back to outside work before she is ready to. But somehow, she feels, they will "make out," come what may. In any case, having a baby is worth all the struggle and possible deprivation. The husband, however, must bid farewell to his youth, and must do so with no clear compensations for it definitely within his grasp. Small wonder if the baby arouses, at best, mixed feelings within him.

Easing the Path

THE rare father perhaps enjoys the early stages of his baby's development in a way almost like his wife's. No one pattern for either sex is universal and in addition there are infinite variations on any single theme. Financial security, if there is such a thing, would no doubt help to clear the way, making it possible for him to welcome his child, if the welcoming mood is not otherwise interfered with by his own infantile tendencies to shun responsibility, or by childlike resentment against the "little stranger" with whom he must share the affections of a wife on whom he has actually depended as on a mother. But even more necessary is a psychic security, which is particularly likely to be lacking in a society like our own, which has inevitably forced men to value themselves chiefly in terms of dollars and cents. A man who is relatively mature, who has lived on such friendly terms, so to speak, with his own inner life that psychic conflicts no longer take him by surprise, is infinitely freer than is the average young father to explore and to relish this new experience without fear.

Many of the difficulties in the relationship between husband and wife during the period of pregnancy and the infant's early months can be made

easier if the wife herself is mature enough to become detached occasionally from her own preoccupations and consider her husband's. Too often she is convinced or allows others to convince her that she is bearing the whole burden, and that therefore the whole consideration should be for her alone. She will need, however, to gauge rather deliberately her husband's unspoken trepidations, and to foster his capacities to accept the coming child. She should beware of menacing this acceptance by making demands in excess of these capacities. She should know to what extent his self-assurance is true inner poise in the face of responsibility or to what extent it has been thus far a mere boyish "front." Knowledge of what his relationship to his own mother has been throughout his early years will prove illuminating. If it has been one of dependence, responsibility will be hard for him to assume. If he has lost a mother early in life or if he has passed through a childhood where he has felt unsatisfied and rejected by his own mother, it is likely that now in marriage he desires from his wife the mother's love denied him. In this case he is likely to suffer both from pangs of jealousy and from guilt in the sensing of it.

Toward Richer Companionship

HE WILL need frequent reassurance by word, and by deed, that his wife still cherishes him as she did before. She will need to check herself from time to time lest she find herself using symptoms and sentiments to take advantage of the situation and to exploit his chivalry. She should assume as far as is compatible with health the same financial and social obligations and responsibilities toward their joint lives as were hers formerly. After the baby is born she should take all possible steps to restore herself as speedily as possible to health and attractiveness and to give herself back to her husband, both as a sexual partner and as a comrade in his outside interests. It is not a question of choosing one single alternative, as between her husband, her baby, and a "life of her own." It is a problem literally of extending herself—of becoming sufficiently enlarged to embrace all three. To these ends both parents need knowledge and instruction in the scientific practice of contraception so that they may have a much needed period of reorientation before a new pregnancy is undertaken.

Most important, a wife should never lose sight of what phase of family life is most vital to her hus-

band. For him the joy is not in surrender to the physical experiences of pregnancy and suckling, to the feel and smell and sounds of the baby, but in the launching of a whole plan of life, involving work, companionship, and ambitions centering around the various personalities of the family. His main interest then is likely to center on the problems of the children's later growth, on the development of character traits, and upon the soundness of their intellectual training, as well as upon the relationships within the family which make of home a livable and gracious place for all, filled with affection and laughter. "Doing for the baby," though perhaps not wholly, is certainly pre-eminently woman's business. The normal male can rarely find in himself much zest for the diapering, bathing, and dressing of the infant, or for the comforting with tender nonsense that comes so easily to most women. He may try his hand at it and develop a certain pride in his ability to manipulate small buttons, safety pins, or wabbling heads, but his interest in this new technique is not profound. Lending a hand is well worth while, and he will do it willingly so long as he is not threatened by a fear that this is all there is to parenthood.

Learning to Know His Own Child

FOR with men, the domestic urge is more or less in conflict with other more adventurous, egoistic ambitions. At best it is a deep sentiment, rarely, as with women, a passion and an outlet for creative energy. The early months of an infant's life, therefore, present a rather delicate balance in which the father may find merely an intruder who serves to alienate his wife; but on the other hand, if fortune favors, he may gradually learn to know his own child, recognize in him the being, flesh of his own flesh, whom he has truly desired. This time should not be long in coming. At six months, a year, two years, the baby should be equally his. Suddenly his wife makes the discovery that her child's smile is as bright for his father as it is for her or brighter, that while she is struggling with new formulas for his nourishment, new devices for his "training," a subtle understanding between father and child is in the process of birth. Thereafter, whatever the differences in their point of approach, the father's offerings are now as essential as the mother's, destined to be just as vital in the ultimate shaping of their child's destinies.

Conflicts of Motherhood

The changing world makes it necessary for women to face frankly a problem of adjustment, from which they can make neither a retreat nor a detour.

SIDONIE M. GRUENBERG

IN SOVIET RUSSIA the newspapers report that the communist enthusiasts are so absorbed in the great cause that many of their young men and women consider themselves too busy to think of establishing a family. It has therefore become necessary for some of their leaders to conduct a systematic propaganda to "sell" the young people the idea that the taking on of permanent marriage ties and the raising of a family constitute worthy objectives for orthodox communists devoted to Soviet ideals. This is in the land which, we had been assured but a short time ago, was on the point of abolishing the family altogether. There is apparently in Russia not only exceptional concern with the welfare of mothers and infants but also with the making of homes consisting of wives and husbands, parents and children.

We need not reproach the communists with inconsistency; but neither may we take to ourselves much comfort from having avoided the great folly of trying to get along without homes and families. The Russians have been pioneering, and a period of pioneering is always one of hardships, as many Americans still remember from their own early days. But as earlier hardships are overcome and as more routinized forms of producing and living are set up, families tend to become smaller. The activities of the home come to be supplemented with a variety of specialized services supplied from without. Children spend an increasing proportion of their time under the direction of the school and of other institutions. Mechanical conveniences lighten what remains of housework. In short, we can readily see that stabilization and prosperity all seem to make the raising of a family easier.

And yet the very changes, the very gains and advances, have brought new problems for women. In western Europe and in this country, two or more generations of women have suffered from a growing

confusion as to just what they are to expect of themselves, and for themselves. For the result of freeing women from the traditional confinement to kitchen and children and of easing their burden of domestic toil is apparently the emergence of a multitude of new choices.

"Shall I go in for a career or for a family?"

"Shall I have many children, or few, or none?"

"Shall I develop my own personality or cultivate the personalities of my children?"

We have all met specimens of that growing army of academically trained young women who, as far as they can remember, have been formally posing before themselves the issue between career versus family, or who have been so conditioned with respect to the glamor and dignity of a "profession" that they have deliberately labeled themselves as too busy to raise a family. This new freedom has not, to be sure, affected all women in like degree. But the outlooks and expectations of the privileged groups have influenced the thinking and attitudes of nearly all. With the appearance of many choices, decision becomes ever more difficult, for there is lacking the guidance of a fixed tradition. The standard patterns, which presumably served well enough in the past, no longer seem generally acceptable. Hence the confusions and inner conflicts, which are sometimes very serious.

These confusions and conflicts, to which increasing numbers of women are subjected and to which increasing numbers of girls look forward with some apprehension, are largely the result of the feminist achievements, although they are by no means peculiar to our times. Opportunities for higher education, the free choice of an occupation, admission to the practice of the professions, liberation from economic dependence upon a male are obvious additions to individual resources, and obvious expansions of the area for personal growth. That these expansions

and enrichments have been also incidental to the economic and industrial developments of the period does not detract from their value, nor minimize the role of the woman's movement in bringing them about.

Re-evaluating the Mother's Work

MORE serious is the fact that with the enlarging of cultural, educational, and economic opportunities came a glorification of what had been traditionally "man's work," and a corresponding disparagement of the traditional activities and functions of the wife and mother. With so many varied and exciting things waiting to be done, motherhood appears to the academically trained young woman to require little more than the organic processes of child-bearing and nursing, and the mechanical processes of feeding and dressing and washing. Such activities and functions, having been carried on through the ages by females of no distinctive capacities or equipment, tend to sink beneath notice. But when these educated girls find themselves called upon to play the role of mother, they suddenly discover that the task is much greater than they had supposed. It is greater because it involves factors and relationships that had not been scheduled in the neat formulas of education, which may perhaps be suitable for a man's world but most certainly are only partially applicable to a woman's.

Such women find their "professional standards" and their "business efficiency" subtly and disturbingly inadequate when they apply them to what they so often call their "new job" of motherhood. They have yet to learn that this is not just another job. The emotional overtones, as well as the specific techniques, that go into child care are so different in quality from those of the business world that the objective and competitive standards of that world have little meaning when applied to them. Before mothers can make the most of knowledge and reason, they must have experienced—and taken joy in—the deep primal instincts and physical experiences of maternity. This is where so many earnest young women first lose the path. With all their eagerness to be "advanced," to be modern and efficient, they are not prepared to be primitive, to accept the physical and emotional ties of motherhood which are as old as the race itself.

To call motherhood a job or even a profession is to lend it at best a specious dignity. Motherhood is

worthy enough in its own name; its importance is not enhanced by attacking its tasks in a professional spirit. And besides, it simply is not a profession. It is true that with intelligence and training, with an understanding of some of the things that science has brought to us, with a knowledge of available resources, a modern mother can accomplish a great deal more than she could otherwise. But intelligence and orderliness and training cannot make her work with her home and children a profession. Typically a profession involves the progressive development of expertness in an ever narrower area, more and more concern with details and with refinements of discrimination. In contrast to this mode of development, the mother, in her continuous concern with her children, becomes progressively *less* involved in details, grows into an expanding field of interests—her developing children and the world into which they are growing. For after the many services of the traditional home are split off and assigned to numerous specialists, however expert, there remains for the mother a continuing relationship of caring and guiding and interpreting which cannot be delegated to others. She is the child's first and most enduring love. From her care springs his fundamental sense of security; and she must throughout his childhood continue to be the integrating influence amid the confusion of teachings and experiences and pressures to which the child is exposed; it is she who gives him a sense of stability in the whirling chaos of doctrine and clamor—or not.

Broadening Horizons

ANOTHER characteristic of the mother's work is the fact that with the maturing of the children the parent-child relationship changes. From complete dependence of the child upon the mother there is normally a gradual transition to the stage at which the two individuals stand on an equal footing; and in this transition the mother can serve the child most effectively in proportion as she herself becomes more and more a distinct person. For she too becomes gradually liberated, both in the sense that her movements are no longer restricted by the needs of the child, and in the sense that she no longer needs the child as a justification for her round of duties.

Throughout the period of the mother's specific or distinctive service to her children, there is thus a succession of phases which bring constantly new prob-

lems—and also new satisfactions. These phases are in large part determined by the changing needs of the children and by their changing capacities to stimulate or to make demands upon the mother. During these changing phases, the mother is in the meantime also growing; she expands as a person with her own cultural and social interests, her own reflections and recreational concerns. And throughout these changing phases the amount of time directly required by each child is also steadily diminishing.

Rationalizing Our Escapes

CONFLICTS which the mother faces are not always in the form of a career, or of a calling, in the literal sense. For, after all, most of us have no outstanding talents that clamor for cultivation and expression. And even where economic pressure would justify the spending of a considerable amount of time outside the home, many mothers prefer the traditional round of domestic work. On the other hand, the job is for many women an escape from the responsibilities which are for some reason disagreeable. But so also excessive devotion by a mother to social frivolities, or to the pursuits of "culture," or to worthy and respectable civic and philanthropic enterprises, has again and again turned out to be such an escape.

This feeling of conflict, as between personal fulfillment and the claims of motherhood, is perhaps one of the most frequent and most serious sources of that unrest which affects so many women today. But the ways in which they attempt to meet it, the processes of rationalizing through which they seek to justify their course of action are different for each individual. For no matter how objective she may try to be, each woman feels and thinks and acts only on the basis of her own emotional adjustment or lack of adjustment. What have been her relationships with her own parents? What of her relationship with her husband? How do both of these affect her attitudes toward her children, toward her outside activities?

Here, for instance, was a young woman who was recognized as a leader in all that is liberal and progressive in the community life of a small city. She had two young sons, who were being brought up along the most "progressive" lines, and the mother prided herself on not neglecting them, in spite of her wide civic interests. The younger boy of five, with his gay outgoing disposition, was, she privately thought, a much more satisfactory child than the

quiet, stolid-seeming eight-year-old. But because she was so self-assured, she never admitted to herself that either of her children could present a "problem." She was correspondingly surprised when the progressive school which both boys attended suggested that she get in touch with the school's consulting psychiatrist regarding the older boy. The school found that he had an unusually good mind and did remarkably advanced individual work, but that he was slow to express himself, uncooperative with the teachers, and had an unfriendly, superior attitude toward the other children. Now that she had been forced to accept the need for outside assistance, the mother admitted that she had always found him unappealing and uncommunicative.

Her personal history, pieced together during many conferences with the consultant, but here sketched very briefly, threw much light on the situation. This woman came from a family long prominent in the public life of the community in which she still lived. Her father's family were known for their financial position; her mother's for their "good works." Her mother had been the local leader in most of the town's charitable enterprises. After a few stormy years of married life her mother and father had separated and the latter had gone to live in a large city where there were fewer restrictions on the gay life he preferred to live. But they had never been divorced because of the mother's scruples; and the daughter always rather guiltily remembered her occasional visits to her father as the brightest spots in her stern and too well-regulated childhood.

Unreconciled Modes of Life

AFTER graduation from college she went for a time to live in the same city with her father and there had her first—and only—experience in the ultra-sophisticated society in which he moved. But though she enjoyed it at the time she did not recover from the guilty feelings, instilled in her by her mother, about "a life of pleasure" as represented by her father. At the same time she began to recognize that there was a quality of unyielding obstinacy and selfishness in her mother which made her father's escape less reprehensible than her mother had led her to believe. As she looked back on her childhood she was shocked to realize how bitterly she had often felt toward her mother. Piling guilt on guilt, she refused to admit even to herself how much criticism and even hate she still felt. Consciously she still

maintained that her mother's way of life was "right," and her father's "wrong."

These two emotional forces were most actively at war within her during her early twenties; every young man she met had to be fitted into one of these two opposing categories. She found herself pulled this way and that. Finally the swing of the pendulum carried her in quick succession from a somewhat indiscreet "affair" to the other extreme of marriage with an old schoolmate, a "safe and sane" young doctor who was about to return to practice in her own home city.

In her new life as a married woman she made a deliberate and determined effort to make the most of both sides of her social inheritance—to follow in her mother's footsteps in so far as her civic interests seemed admirable, but in her personal life to keep her father's light touch, his casual acceptance of amusement as an end in itself. But actually her problem was too deep to be resolved by such an intellectual tour de force. The conflict remained; and she was repeatedly torn between a feeling of emptiness in her busy outside work and a feeling of guilt in its occasional interludes of play. The coming of her own two children and her discovery that she could not mold them both to this preconceived pattern of compromise intensified the conflict. The two children came, unconsciously, to personify the struggle; the serious, unsocial elder son was to her the embodiment of all that she respected and disliked in her mother, while the gay, friendly, younger boy represented her ideal of her father, with his good qualities intensified, and all his weaknesses left out.

Where "Intelligence" Is Not Enough

IT is noteworthy that, like many women of intelligence when caught in an emotional predicament, this mother had set about an elaborate rationalization of her problem, thus effectively stilling the voice of conscience. It was necessary for her to go back over her whole personal history to perceive what she was doing, what part her conflict with her parents was playing in her deliberate, if unconscious, defeat of her own ideals and objectives.

Only after she had come to realize that life and human happiness cannot be interpreted in wholly intellectual terms, only after she had attained a willingness to grant to her own emotions importance and worthiness and to free them from a sense of guilt could she begin to come to terms with herself and

her family. Eventually she realized that much of her outside activity was simply an escape and learned to manage it rather than to be driven by it. Her husband came to play a more important role in her life and, bit by bit, she learned to accept both children as individuals rather than as symbols of opposing emotional drives within herself.

Hidden Reserves of Strength

CONFLICT may seem the product of outside forces, but its genesis is within. In contrast to this young woman's difficulties, we sometimes see a situation which bears all the external ear-marks of an insurmountable problem—and which yet is resolved without devastating stress and strain.

A young woman who had led a very independent existence in the literary circles of a large city made a rather late marriage, for which her friends all predicted disaster. For a time ambitious in her own behalf, she had later on come to accept the fact that her writing ability was slight and had eventually earned her living in a secretarial position. Nevertheless, by the force of an unusual personality, she had occupied a rather unique position among writers and other "interesting" people, and her friendship was valued highly. At the age of thirty, already a mature and experienced woman, she married a man of a type wholly different from her usual circle of friends. He was a widower, a "gentleman farmer" who cared nothing for conversation, whose interests and energies were devoted to out-of-door activities, the improvement of his farm, and the care of his animals. What is more, he had three children, whom he loved deeply, but rather helplessly. The two girls were twelve and eleven, and the boy, nine. Before long the family was increased to five, by the birth of twins, a boy and girl. Thus, in the space of a few years she found herself in an environment completely new for her—and not only a wife, but the mother of an exceptionally variegated, strenuous, and demanding family where she must cope with the problems of children ranging from adolescence to infancy.

Her life from then on involved a steady denial of her own wishes and a subordination of herself to her family. No existence could have been in sharper contrast to the one she had always known and anticipated. Her friends looked on rather breathlessly from the distance which divided them. They had serious doubts as to how she would make out with

so much hard physical work and the society of children most of the day. But she made out remarkably well. In the first place, the attraction and love between herself and her husband was very deep and very real. Secondly, she possessed much in maturity and self-knowledge; she had learned to measure her own powers and knew wherein lay her strength and weaknesses. She harbored no illusions of achieving a great personal career. Her power, she sensed, lay in giving freely of her friendship, in her common sense and philosophical good humor, and in a maternal warmth which was as well or better placed with a large family of children and a curiously childish man who needed her than with a

studio full of turbulent artists and writers. So despite the fact that she missed the gaiety, the concerts, and most of all certain human associations which were dear to her, she remained on the whole undismayed. She did not deceive herself about the hard and boring moments and hours that came so frequently and inescapably. But when things got too much for her she retired from the scene to do exactly as she pleased for an hour or so. At times, too, when she was tired and exasperated beyond endurance, she burst out in angry irritation at the children. At rare intervals she ran off to the city for an evening with an old friend, a party, or a theater. She emerged from all

(Continued on page 128)

Father of a Family

What a father means to his children and what he himself feels about being a father depend upon his understanding of his function in the family.

HARRY M. TIEBOUT

PARENTS have the twofold function of loving their children and of guiding them. In older and simpler societies and for reasons which may still be more deeply rooted in the constitutional make-up of human beings than we realize, the mother supplied most of the loving and the father most of the guiding. The kind and loving mother and the stern and respected father were component and complementary parts of a time-honored family picture.

In present-day society, especially in America, such a sweeping characterization of mothers and fathers is perhaps no longer valid; certainly it is sharply challenged by some modern men and women. Many forces have given them ammunition with which to make this challenge appear effective. The feminist refusal to make any distinctions between the roles of the sexes, certain interpretations of psychology which have tended to discredit the old-style absoluteness of parental authority, and finally the economic insecurity which has undermined so many men's self-confidence in relation to the family's welfare—all these have supplied arguments which have colored current attitudes within the family.

But already there is evidence of reaction against a pattern of family life which tends to dispossess the

father. Women, as well as men, are beginning to be dissatisfied with the relatively insignificant part which many fathers play in the lives of their children. There are signs that men may once again play a forceful and potent part in the conduct of the family—and that all of culture will gain thereby.

We may again be ready to recognize that these characterizations—the “loving mother” and the “stern father”—still serve to emphasize a very real difference between wife and husband in their response to parenthood. Such a difference in response is natural; for most women welcome and accept their maternal role as the fulfillment of their personal destinies, while few men have any feeling for what their role as father involves.

The question “What will being a father mean to me?” rarely concerns the young lover or the young husband. Women marry to have a husband and babies. Men marry to have a wife and home. To most women babies are a major event, the culmination of their vocational choice. To men the arrival of a child is at most an incident; it may even be an unfortunate and perhaps hampering complication in a busy life.

Their previous experience, as boys and girls and

as young men and women, has produced in both sexes this difference in attitude toward parenthood. All her life, first with dolls and then with other people's babies, the girl has been developing her maternal love and her technique and skill in handling the small child. The young man, on the contrary, for an equally long period has avoided having anything to do with babies; he has even been loath to show much interest in them, because as a boy and adolescent he disliked to display feelings supposed to be peculiar to the other sex.

At the birth of his first-born, the average father is a "greenhorn," an arrant tyro. His ignorance inevitably produces a sense of frustration, which in its turn tends to erect a barrier between the infant and the father. Since most women do not feel the same sense of strangeness even in their first contact with an infant, a freer relationship develops, which brings mother and child closer and closer together.

Traditional Expectations

FORMERLY the young man had a framework of experience and of conventional expectations as to his new role with which he could bridge this gap. Indifferent and "superior" as he may have felt toward babies during his own boyhood, as one of a large family he was likely to be at least more familiar with having them around than are boys of today. What is more, he had seen his own father and his married brothers "in action;" he knew what a father was supposed to be and do.

Today, when smaller families offer fewer models of paternal behavior and when what models there are have been more or less discredited, it is increasingly easy, unless the husband and wife are careful, for the man of the family to be shunted off into an exclusively bread-winning role, while the mother assumes active charge of rearing the children. Nevertheless, the man who is only a bread-winner is not being a true father to his family. Before he can be accorded that status, he must, through his personal relationships to his wife and to his children, give of *himself*, and not merely of his wages or his bank account.

He must somehow contribute that certain something which women apparently have in mind when they say they "need a man around the house." Women do not agree among themselves as to why they feel this need or what it actually is. Almost certainly it is not sheer physical presence, since, dur-

ing the depression, when so many husbands have been staying home, the almost universal complaint of wives has been, "I'll be glad when he gets something to do. Then he won't be under my feet all the time."

Nor does the need spring from any reliance on the greater physical strength of the husband. Nowadays with so many labor-saving devices, the demand for muscular activity, for which men are better fitted, has become too small to make the man's physical strength indispensable in the average household.

Neither can the need be thought to arise from any greater intellectual capacity possessed by men. Modern instruments for testing intelligence give no comfort to male superiority; in point of fact, they throw the man more than ever upon his own resources in his struggle for a place in the family sun.

He is needed neither for company, nor for strength, nor for intelligence. Yet almost universally he is needed. Not only women, but children, too, sense that "no home should be without one." The little boy who described his father as "that man that winds the clock on Sunday morning" was expressing a lack which he felt but could not quite put a finger on. Why? What is the father's contribution to the health of the family life? If it is neither social, nor physical, nor intellectual, then it must be emotional.

Sound Emotional Patterns

WHAT is the essence of his contribution? On a subject so intricate and so controversial the only point which we can make with any assurance is that the pattern of family living—which had evolved through the ages of human experience and which was so unquestioningly accepted until recent years—was not entirely wrong. Indeed this pattern, the unconscious growth of generation upon generation, may perhaps more nearly approximate biological and psychological health than can any pattern we might consciously devise on a basis of scientific theory and intellectual reasoning. At any rate it seems worth while to re-examine the relationships in that traditional family setting, with the hope that they may at least give us some light upon what the father meant emotionally to the family of an earlier day.

We have already recalled the important fact that the traditional family set-up gave the father a unique position as its leader and guide. He was the embodiment of authority in the home, and as such he con-

tributed emotional values of profound significance to the family stability. We must understand these values before we can appreciate the essential contribution of the father.

In all of life the one in authority exerts his prerogative and assumes his responsibilities through rules and regulations. These rules and regulations may be the fixed points by which one learns to steer his own course, or they may be fetters which bind and cripple. Thus the law-giver becomes, depending upon his degree of wisdom and of emotional stability, either the guide and protector, or the source of frustration and deprivation. His guidance is the active causal force in the relationship; whether it is felt as protection or frustration by the children subject to it is, in a sense, the result of this relationship.

Protection and Security

AS PROTECTOR-RULER the father afforded his family that sense of freedom from outside harassment which is essential to the steady emotional growth toward maturity of young children in the home. His very protection implied restrictions, even at times frustration of their personal desires; but in the long run and in spite of inevitable kicking against the pricks, his children felt the beneficence of his authority. Frustration in itself can be a helpful and indeed a necessary experience for the child, provided "mercy tempers justice." But when the scales are weighted the other way, when frustration is the major ingredient in parental authority, the father's rule interferes with the full unfolding of the child's personality.

In the old days when the father acted as unquestioned ruler of the household, the children either accepted his rule and were, however unconsciously, grateful for all its sense of security and stability, or they rejected it and rebelled against him. Indeed both reactions might—and most certainly often did—occur in any given family. Human nature paints few characters all black or all white. It was true then, as it is now, that some well intentioned paternal efforts at guidance result inexplicably in frustration and so defeat their own purpose. What we are more likely to forget today is that even a certain amount of rebellion can sometimes be a salutary experience for the young. In our effort to leave them "free" it is possible that we may give them no standards—either to follow or to pit their strength against.

Admitting the occasional failure or inadequacy of

the father's good intentions, accepting, too, the hazard of occasional rebellion on the part of the children, we must still conclude that an objective view of the authoritarian family shows the father standing in the main for protection, a bulwark against the world outside the home. And we may hazard the guess that what women, even today, have in mind when they say they "want a man around the house" is their need for the "moral support" of a responsible and courageous partner.

We may assume, then, that formerly the more specific emotional contribution of the father to family life sprang from his function as ruler and protector. He was the safeguard of family security. How much of this old relationship have we actually preserved in our own time? Little, it often seems.

As was pointed out in the beginning of this article, recent years have witnessed challenges to this function of the father. Probably the most direct challenge has been made in the name of psychopathology. The malign influence of the frustrating father has been so emphasized in such studies that the conscientious man, having read about all the bad things he may do to his children, will find himself appalled. He is likely to become so inhibited that he feels generally useless and in the way at home. Moreover, because of his indecision as to his own role and his unwillingness to do anything that might thwart or curb the full flowering of his offspring, he sets up no guideposts by which the child can steer his own early stumblings toward independence and self-confidence. Intending only to withdraw as frustrating parent, he actually abdicates as guide and law-giver and surrenders all his authority over the child to the mother.

Giving His Best

SUCH a situation obviously is lamentable, since infancy and childhood need the guidance and direction of both parents. The child needs the very best his parents can give him; first, to insure for him some feeling of support and security before he can have developed an inner self-security; and second, to give him help and assistance in fulfilling through experience the full promise of his innate possibilities. No one with any knowledge about children has much faith in the "Topsy" method of rearing youngsters.

Even without this direct attack, which has borne most heavily upon thoughtful and earnest fathers, there have been, as has already been mentioned, plenty of indirect forces to undermine his position.

The changing economic and social status of women, with all it has done to alter their whole relationship with men, inevitably makes us less clear as to just who must supply the children with a feeling that their home is safe against all the onslaughts of the world outside. Perhaps the answer is that both parents must take a hand. But such an answer lacks the obvious simplicity of the more patriarchal family picture; it may even confuse and bewilder the child, unless both parents are themselves unusually aware of all the issues involved, and unusually well prepared to meet their old responsibilities according to the new terms the present day imposes upon them.

For one thing, it will be necessary for them both to realize that this sense of guiding and protecting does not rest on economics alone. We all know men who even in dire financial straits keep their chins up and their eyes straight ahead. And we know that they do more for the family stability than the man who, in spite of an ample income, is so at sea emotionally that he cuts a sorry figure in his children's eyes. It is true that older children can and should understand that life at best has its uncertainties; but

in the beginning children need profoundly that age-old childhood faith in the good, kind, beneficent father who will take care of them.

In most families, even today, this is still the role which the father plays. And that to me is the real meaning of fatherhood. What fatherhood means to the individual man who assumes its responsibility is still another question. The profound yet subtle satisfactions which it may bring are part of the experience of every man who is a father in the spiritual, as well as the biological, sense. But our feelings will remain in some measure inarticulate and confused until we once again are prepared to define our function clearly and accept its demands upon us.

No doubt many readers will feel that this discussion contains nothing "new." Such perhaps is its purpose. For I have wished to reconsider one type of family—and that an old one—and to emphasize old values which even today are needed for successful family life. Unless the father can and does assume satisfactorily this vital, dynamic role of guide and protector, he has failed to contribute his real share to the family's emotional growth.

Growing Up with Our Children

To paraphrase Browning, "Grow up along with me, the best is yet to be; the last of life for which the first was made."

CÉCILE PILPEL

AT A TEA recently a number of middle-aged women were discussing "life" as they saw their married daughters living it. Some strongly defended the "sacrificial" mother as the only one who had fully met the demands of good home-making.

Others kept asking, "But what do they do with their *time*? Nowadays housework doesn't last all day, and babies so soon go to school and don't need so much mothering."

The question remained unanswered until the wit of the party broke out, "I'll tell you what they do—make cretonne covers for mouse-traps."

If early married life is to be so futile and limited,

what wonder that women whose children have grown up find themselves with nothing to care about—except their inability to care? We all know mothers whose entire lives are devoted to the details of food and clothing while their children are young. If their solicitude and care for the children have been too narrow and too dominating, such women's lives are likely to be empty indeed, or to be filled only with petty conflict, when the children leave home, or no longer need—or even desire—the mother's physical care.

Yet no woman can solve the problem of her relationship to her older children simply by the expedient of finding outside interests. She cannot

run away so easily from the fundamental problem. We must go back to the mother's own early years of married life. Our babies come to us at a time when we ourselves are still struggling to come to terms with life. We may not yet have achieved our own emancipation from parental attachments. In our new marriage relationship we may very possibly be in the throes of a more or less difficult period of adjustment. When we are submerged in daily stress and strain, preoccupied with the details of household and baby-tending, it is difficult to keep our attention focused on the long view. Nevertheless the growing child needs not only our physical care but also our guidance and orientation in the world in which he will live. He has a right to expect of us an education which will help him to meet life, to find a place for himself through suitable occupation and satisfying interests. It follows that a mature attitude on the mother's part, during the whole growing up of her children, demands more mature interests than "making cretonne covers for mouse-traps"—or whatever other form of escape her refusal to grapple with life may take. It is possible to make the child's immediate needs serve as stepping stones toward widening our own interests.

Immediate Needs and Future Interests

THERE is need on the mother's part for objective study of her children. In thinking about *our* children so many of us visualize the kind of child we should like to have; and then we try to fit the real child, the child we have, into this idealized picture. We see what we want to see; when that becomes impossible, we attempt to reshape the child nearer to our heart's desire, not realizing that this may blight the bud and warp the fruit. In order to be sure that we really know a child and understand his needs, we must keep in close touch with his school. We must give due consideration to the choice of the school and be sure of our motives in selecting it. Teachers can be of great help in evaluating the child's capacity and needs. Beyond these immediate needs, interest in theories of education and discrimination in evaluating them may become an important part of our own education.

Our children have acquaintances and friends who may come out of a variety of racial, social, and economic backgrounds. From them too we have much to learn. Our attitudes toward these friends

must be based on sound knowledge of these varied backgrounds. This implies an acquaintance with social, economic, and racial theories, needs, antipathies, superstitions, together with an appreciation of differences and a willingness to accept truly helpful attitudes and actions. Surely the time given to orientation of our own social values is well spent.

Our children may develop particular aptitudes or talents, which we must be prepared to guide wisely. How and when should a child be encouraged to develop along special lines? Only a real understanding of the professional future open to one with his gifts, as well as of the child's total personality, can help us to answer that question. But as a by-product of our concern over the child and his future we can also gain much self-education.

The variety of personality in our children necessitates recognition of and concern for individual differences, and offers another potential source of enlightenment for the parent. In order to help the children themselves to a concrete appreciation of these differences, to free them from possible jealousies, envy, or even hatred, the parents will need to have some insight into the mental hygiene of human relationship.

These studies are necessary if we wish to fulfill our obligations as parents. We cannot delegate them to anyone else. If they are pursued intelligently, they ought to provide a nucleus of knowledge, experience, and interest which is bound to be useful and to provide many outlets for service. But obviously research into any such department of human knowledge would fail of its purpose if it were followed merely as an academic abstraction. Mothers who feel their responsibility seriously will develop interest in these pursuits because of their children's needs. The result of their increasing knowledge will be progressively evident, both in the happy integration of their family living, and also in the increasing richness of their own inner lives.

Making the Most of Ourselves

JUST as we cultivate all sorts of aptitudes in our children, so we may surely make the most of what little talent we may have in the arts, music, and crafts. The interests need not be academic or professional provided only they are *real*. We have no statistics to show what occupations or professions seem to lend themselves best to the needs of the woman who is also a mother. It does look,

however, as if the mother who engaged in work which has close relationship to child care—teaching, psychology, medicine, and so on—can pursue her vocation with less strain, because such work calls forth the same relationships and emotions which are an essential part of home relationships.

Just as the mother's outside interests have to be gradually built up from small beginnings to larger participation in the outside field, so the mother's emotional relation to her grown children begins as a relation to small and to growing children. Acceptance of the child as a developing, independent human being can be the thread that runs through the mother-child relationship during all their lives together. Such an attitude, enlightened and "implemented" by the studies previously mentioned, will help the mother to steer clear of too much interference or too much emotional entanglement with the child. And vice versa. As the child grows up he will also feel an increasing appreciation of the parent as an independent human being, not as one to whom he is chained—at first by his own weakness, and later by a narrow, shriveling sense of duty.

United They Stand

YET we must accept the fact that the bond between parents and children remains something vastly stronger and more fundamental than a bond between an older and a younger person who happen to be friends, even friends of long standing. This is as true where the parent-child relationship has been fortunate as where it has been the reverse. It is well recognized that emotional disturbances in later life often have roots in the parent-child relationship. But we must not forget that the fundamental sense of security which can withstand the onslaught of later difficulties is also built on childhood experience—an experience of love and stability.

If the parent has succeeded fairly well in the difficult task of leading the child toward a healthy sense of independence, that child, when grown, will be able to take parental advice on its own merits, to appreciate it at its intrinsic value, and to maintain a relationship of intimate confidence with this older and wiser person who knows and nevertheless loves him. The parent will watch with unobtrusive sympathy the young person's gropings toward a vocation, will lend every support, helping him to see the next steps and encouraging him when the way looks dark and difficult. The necessity of keeping

up with the times is one of the most energizing stimulants which parents must respond to if they are to remain intelligently aware of the problems confronting young people today. Social change—other times and other manners, the possibility of economic reorganization—may be a challenge rather than a threat.

When Our Children Marry

WHEN the young person's sex interests reach the adult level there is again a need for parental self-examination. Are we free from personal preconceptions about our children's choice of mate? What must we do and say to be really helpful? If they are making a regrettable choice as the result of tangled emotional needs, we may try to have them postpone marriage until they have been helped to understand their own problems. If this effort should prove unsuccessful, they are still our children and still need our interest and concern. Perhaps we, as parents, have had a share in shaping their need to choose a particular kind of mate; but in any case they have a right to call on us for mature guidance. Our concern must extend to the other partner as well as to our own child. If we are certain that both are included in our interests, we shall be able to serve them more helpfully.

Our own marriage relationship should be of a nature to affect our children wholesomely in their feeling about marriage; for marriage is, in the last analysis, a real test of life. It not only offers an opportunity to the self for a richer life but also an opportunity to test one's capacity for affecting other lives wholesomely and courageously. It has been well said that, as parents, we ought to keep in mind from the day of our child's birth the fact that he will some day marry; we must think in terms of preparation for that marriage in everything that we do. It is no argument against this ideal of education to point out that some people do not marry. Many of the unmarried are obvious examples of misguided parental attitudes. Others, particularly women, are the "victims" of the chance of not finding a suitable mate. But whatever education will develop the degree of maturity necessary for married life will certainly not be a handicap to those who, for whatever reason, do not marry. We are therefore pretty safe in assuming that this must have importance as an educational goal, since it includes nearly everything that we mean by education

conceived broadly rather than in a pedagogical sense. The marriage of our children irrevocably holds up to us a picture of all that we have been to them—of how their living with us has shaped their thinking and feeling in regard to the marriage relationship and in regard to life as a whole.

We sometimes hear a woman say, "My son's wife tells me more about himself than he did in all my previous living with him."

The son's choice expresses his needs and his aspirations. It may indicate whether he has had to marry strength or weakness; whether he has the need to dominate or to be dominated. He may marry someone so like his own mother that one must conclude he has actually had to marry a mother. Or a daughter may have been so tied to her father that she has had to marry a father rather than a husband. Sometimes quite the opposite mechanism operates and we may be able to explain a choice of mate only on the basis of an escape from parental domination.

To one child the parent may have been as the sun and rain, just the one to help him flower; to another, possibly as the parching and shriveling wind. Our own lives may have stressed the material aspects, the all-important goal seeming to be the pursuit of financial security or of social position. Depending on their relationship with us, our children will either walk in our footsteps or as far removed from them as they possibly can. Provided there is a tie of deep affection with the mother, the daughter is likely to follow out the mother's pattern. So also with the father and son. If, however, our children have lost out in their relationship with us, they will, in their choice of a marriage partner, show unmistakable evidence of their unresolved conflicts.

The Question of "Subsidized" Marriages

OUR children are still our children though physically mature and ready to marry. We recognize this when it is a question of supporting them in the preparation for, and establishment in, a profession. We seem, however, to balk at the idea of marriage during that time. Yet, in many instances, the mere continuance by both families of the allowance for the son, or the daughter (which would not be questioned as long as they remained single) would make it perfectly possible for young people to set up a modest establishment of their own. The fear is often expressed that this will

weaken their stamina. It is difficult to see why this should necessarily follow, merely because they are living together, when both would be just as dependent if they remained apart.

The possibility of aiding financially is, of course, open only to the relatively few parents who, in these troubled times, are still in a position to support their children through a prolonged period of training. The majority cannot support their children for so many years under any circumstances; it is only while they can live at home that such parents can give them even shelter and food. But where capacity for support remains, unwillingness to continue this support after marriage is entirely due to old patterns and customs carried over from past days or to emotional conflicts of a more subtle kind.

New Roles in an Old Drama

OUR children are still our children when they become parents. If we have matured in our own parenthood we shall have long outgrown the notion that we possess our children; we shall become interested spectators and sometimes participants in the unfolding of a new family life. Many children have a growing appreciation of their own parents when they find themselves in the same role. The young man will feel free to consult his father in the field of his experience; the young mother will feel free to call on her mother for help, to share the children with her, for the joy which the grandmother and child will give each other. The *leitmotif* of independence and mutual appreciation will naturally expand and be elaborated as the ever-increasing circle of family life comes to include the children's children.

Altogether, for the woman looking for an interest in life, family living—richly lived—offers unending possibilities. Increasing spare time can eventually be used to good purpose in the fields of knowledge and practice related to child care and education. Special talents can be cultivated and eventually practiced as full time occupations. The mother who has found in her motherhood an ever-increasing opportunity for self-expression should never find time hanging heavy on her hands. With richly stored minds and hearts, both parents will, in the course of time, become sympathetic and yet unassuming members of the "supporting cast," while their children take their turns at playing the stellar roles in the ever-recurrent drama of life.

The Professional Woman at Home—A Symposium

ZILPHA CARRUTHERS FRANKLIN

THE woman who undertakes the double role of mother and professional worker finds herself frequently—and rather to her own surprise—held up as an “example.” Those who are certain in advance that “it can’t be done” see only the dark side of the picture, while those who believe in “the modern woman” interpret her experience as a “success story” without drawbacks. The woman herself knows that neither is wholly right, though both have some right on their sides.

In order to see what such a life looks like from the inside, CHILD STUDY has asked twenty-five mothers—who happen also to be doing full time outside work—to answer a brief questionnaire. An effort was made to cover as wide a variety of professional interests as possible. Among those represented are physician, lawyer, business executive, actress, artist, interior decorator, magazine editor, social worker, newspaper feature writer, publicity expert, school principal, college professor, nursery school teacher, and others. It should also be noted that in order to make the symposium as representative of general conditions and as objective as possible, the staff members of the Child Study Association have been intentionally omitted—but not because they lack personal experience.

Before going on to the questionnaire itself it is necessary to make several points very clear. This group is admittedly a “privileged” class, compared with the vast majority of employed mothers. Though very few of them have really large incomes, all but one earn enough to pay for adequate replacement of their own services in the home. In the second place, most of them are engaged in professions where, though the work may be heavy, the time is somewhat flexible, or where there are relatively long vacations, as in teaching.

The woman who works eight hours a day fifty weeks in the year in clerical work or in industry would tell a very different story. This obvious deduction is corroborated by an experienced placement expert who deals with large commercial employers and with women in many grades and kinds of work.

She believes that in an emergency women always put their children first. This is as it should be; but it makes them bad risks from the employer’s point of view. In jobs where continuity and promptness are more important than special skill, employers will not take a chance on a woman who may have to be late or miss a day because Johnny has a cold. Moreover, these women do not earn enough to keep adequate household help. Their job is either a “luxury” because they must pay out as much as or more than they earn to replace their home services, or a bitter necessity which leaves them harassed by anxiety over the children when they are away. This problem has become particularly acute during the last few years when so many women who would otherwise stay home have been forced by sheer necessity to seek whatever employment they could find.

We cannot ignore the dire straits of this vast majority of working mothers. But the purpose of this symposium has been to analyze the problem when it is not complicated by excessive economic pressure. Moreover, it is the woman with a family and a “career” who today both consciously and unconsciously sets the standard for *all* mothers. Thus, while the professional mother may herself be aware that hers is an individual case—shaped by her specific interests, her opportunities for training and congenial employment, and her relationship with her husband—her scheme of life has become such a shibboleth that we may well pause to ask her if it works, even under favorable conditions.

The questionnaire follows; where there is agreement, a composite answer is given; where there is disagreement, answers representing divergent experience or points of view are noted. In the majority of families there are two children, and, except for two families in which the children are now grown, the age range is from infancy to the early teens.

1. *How much time a day do you actually spend with your children?*

On week days, the shortest time given was one hour, the average two to two and a half; only one

gave more than three. Week-ends are a different story. Almost without exception Saturday afternoon and all day Sunday are reserved for the children.

2. *Do you or does someone else attend to the practical details of their lives—meals, dressing, bathing, purchase of clothing, etc.?*

Most of these mothers share in the morning and evening routine of their children's care. Much depends, of course, upon the child's age. It would probably be fair to say that the mother does about half of the bathing and dressing. With a few exceptions she orders the meals, but does no cooking, except on the maid's day out. With no exceptions she takes entire charge of planning and purchasing clothing; this seems to be one practical—and time-consuming—detail which cannot be delegated.

3. *Is a particular kind of school necessary to your plan of life? A particular kind of maid? A relative?*

4. *Do you spend more in maid's wages than you would if you were not professionally engaged?*

A surprisingly small number felt that an all-day school was essential.

But when it comes to the question of the person who replaces the mother in her absence from home, these women have very positive ideas. In all cases but two—and both of those in homes where the children were eleven or older—there is some outside help. Again with only two exceptions, in each case where a grandmother lives in the home and seems to make a satisfactory "mother substitute," they were most decided in their objections to a relative. No question in the whole list brought forth "no" so frequently or so emphatically. The difficulties with relatives seem to be that they are likely to be older people, somewhat "set" in their ways, who, even with the best will in the world, are not likely to get the spirit, as well as the word, of the mother's ideas on child training; and that with relatives the question of who is "boss" in the family is much more complicated than with a person hired on a strictly business basis. As one woman said, "I always hire a person who seems qualified to fill my requirements at a given time. If she doesn't, or if, as the children grow older their requirements and mine change so that she is no longer suitable, I can let her go. But a relative, once installed, is a life fixture."

The type of household helper is particularly im-

portant to these women in view of the fact that with only two exceptions they employ only one. To generalize briefly, they fall into two types. Some women prefer a young woman of the "peasant" type, friendly, fond of children, not afraid of housework, willing to take orders, and intelligent enough to follow them. Others prefer a more professional type of housekeeper; representative of this type are a Negro woman trained in home economics at Hampton Institute, a trained nurse who finds the continuity of family life ample compensation for the limitations of housework, a competent widow in early middle life whose own children are grown. All agree that the typical "lady governess" is not satisfactory.

Most of the answers indicate that considerably more is spent on wages than if the mother were at home. Either more help or a higher type of help is an obvious necessity.

5. *To what extent do you and your husband share household tasks or those connected with the children?*

6. *Does your husband regard his share as an obligation in practice as well as in theory?*

Husbands do not seem to assume much more than their conventional responsibilities toward the practical details of the daily routine. The two homes with older children and no help report that everyone "pitches in" together on tasks ranging from getting breakfast to washing windows. But in most cases the father's share is more in the child's leisure than in household tasks. Men, it appears, do take their responsibilities seriously, but do not define these responsibilities in terms of minutiae. Mothers feel a sort of continuity of "emotional responsibility" which fathers are not so likely to sense.

But when it comes to leisure, rather than routine, these fathers are a surprisingly conspicuous part of the picture. The glimpses of "dad and the boys" taking charge of Sunday night supper, of a fall golf tournament given up in favor of coaching a backyard football team, of "father's reading-out-loud hour" after dinner give a warm wholesome sense of "togetherness" which runs through every one of these replies.

7. *What arrangements have you for keeping in touch with the lives of your children during the portion of each day you are not with them?*

Keeping in touch with the children's school lives seems to be no more—and no less—difficult than if

these mothers were at home. For out of school emergencies there is always the telephone; but the person at home must be responsible enough to know when to use it and when to carry on alone. Supper time conversation, the hour before or after supper, and the walk to school (with which many mothers start their working day) serve to give the child's own version and the atmosphere of his more independent hours.

8. *How do you meet the problem of a child's illness when it arises?*

Again the responsible home-maker comes to the fore. "I wouldn't leave someone in my home at any time who wasn't competent to deal with a sniffly nose." The number of serious illnesses reported is astonishingly small and the fact is difficult to interpret. One mother's comment—"We don't trifle with first symptoms. The ounce of prevention is an unbroken rule and the first sign of an upset means a day in bed"—suggests that these mothers are at least as careful as any other conscientious parent in taking preventive measures. Beyond that, one may hazard a guess that if a child suffers a prolonged serious illness the mother is likely to devote herself to him and so automatically is removed from the category of "professional mothers."

Several women make the significant comment that they have found a "friend in need" an important adjunct to the home. Relatives may not be favored as permanent members of the family, but a grandmother, aunt, or close personal friend who lives near enough to step into the breach is an inestimable help in times of illness. Still others make a point of knowing one or two trained nurses who may be called upon in the infrequent necessity.

The emotional strain of a child's illness is another story; and here the reactions are as various as the individual mothers: "I worry more than if I were home and could see just how he is getting on." "I feel that I am better out of the way. I would be too anxious to be doing something. My housekeeper is far more serene in the presence of an ailing child than I." "If I hadn't had a job then (when a six-year-old had a seriously broken leg) I should have been desperate. The hospital gave him all the care he needed. I went through my work like an automaton, but I could come into his room at five o'clock and give him more real feeling of love and emotional security than would have been possible if I had been with him constantly."

9. *Are you able to vacation together in the summer as a family? How long?*

10. *Do you have opportunities to get away from the children with your husband for week-ends? What arrangements do you make for the children?*

Vacations range from two weeks to three months. Without exception they are family vacations. One woman said, "During our brief time at camp, the boys feel responsible for 'showing us a good time.' Their attitude makes every minute more fun for us all." With the parents whose vacations are brief, children spend the rest of the summer with relatives in the country, at a summer home near enough to the city for the parents to commute once or twice a week, or at camp. Week-ends away from the children are infrequent. Only one family makes this a regular practice. Most of the others refer to the first question and remind one that Saturdays and Sundays are family days which cannot be better spent than together.

11. *What seem to you the most important practical difficulties in the life of a professional woman with children?*

Practical difficulties without emotional overtones seem surprisingly few. Such as they are, they tie up closely with the preceding points: finding competent help; replacing household helper when *she* is ill; difficulty of covering long distances between school, home, and office; *not enough time*—for the undelegated household duties like mending and all sorts of "extras," for shopping, for carrying on social life with the husband and mutual friends, to go to school entertainments, and so on, with the children.

One difficulty is, however, repeatedly stressed; yet this is not so much a practical as an emotional one—fatigue versus resilience and serenity makes for unending conflict. If most of these women feel that they have learned or are learning how to save their strength for their children, they all add, "Of course, if I weren't so strong physically, the nervous strain would be too much for me." Though not all of them would use the same terms, each says in her own way what a psychologist analyzes as a need for *emotional maturity* and an *intellectual capacity for organization*. (A business executive describes the same two essentials as *attitude* and *competence*.) Without the first, conflict and insecurity are likely to be the result of the many demands, both from

children and from profession. Without the second, no one person can hold the reins on a dual and complex schedule. With them, home life becomes a matter of stressing the *quality* of the relationship between mother and child rather than the quantity of time they spend together.

12. *To what extent have you found the time out necessary for actual child-bearing and care during the early weeks a serious threat to your profession?*

Again we come up against the fact that as a group these professional mothers are blessed with exceptional health. Only one has had to stop work during pregnancy. The average time spent at home after the child's birth is from one to three months. And almost unanimously the group as a whole would echo—changing only the locale—Dame Sybil Thorndike's summing up that “my four babies were almost born in the wings of the theatre.” (It is also worth noting that these women were all engaged in work where it was possible for them to take a leave of several months without jeopardizing their future.)

13. *Are you satisfied with the number of children you have? If you had more time and money, would you have more?*

Seven of the families represented have only one child; one has three, another four, the rest—by far the majority—two. The mothers of only children either “wish they could afford” or “intend soon” to have a second child. Three are now pregnant. The mothers of the large families wish they could have several more. The mothers of two are about evenly divided between being satisfied with two and wanting more. One adds the revealing comment, “I’ve always said I wanted a big family. But I’m beginning to wonder if that isn’t just a romantic notion. I’m a good mother to two; but as they grow older I wonder if I could spread myself over more children. Job or no job, I might not have been able to handle more.”

14. *If no financial need were involved, would you still choose to have a “regular job”? Would your husband so choose for you?*

15. *What is your husband's attitude toward your work? Does your work make for friction between yourself and your husband?*

As to the financial factor, many seem to agree with a woman who asks frankly, “How can you tell? A regular job implies earning, and earning implies

spending—raising the family's living standards. It's a circle without an end.” (Only one says that there is no financial need of her continuing to work.) Four say positively that financial need is the real pressure which makes them undertake to carry such a heavy load. But the majority feels that outside work brings a satisfaction and enrichment which cannot be wholly measured in money values.

Husbands, as represented in this group, are not opposed to their wives' professional work. Their attitudes range from “mild interest” to “respect and active encouragement.” Not one of them feels that his position as a husband and father is threatened by the wife's professional status. (A curious sidelight is the unexpected fact that seven women either work with their husbands or in very similar lines—as in the theatre, in editorial work, in research, or in teaching.) One woman notes that her financial independence permitted her husband to take two years to establish himself in a new line of business—a risk he could not otherwise have taken.

Thus outside work seems to cause no fundamental friction. But some husbands do have objections at special points. They seem to feel that their wives' jobs may become too much of even a good thing. Some of their objections are: “Prolonged professional emergencies when I cannot get home for dinner for weeks at a time;” “desire to curtail my extra-curricular responsibilities;” “when I have to be away on jobs that seem to have no point—except earning my salary;” “he is long suffering even when I have to bring work home from the office.” “He believes I should be more ambitious. I find myself resenting this, because I think he fails to take into account the many distractions and responsibilities which compete with my profession for attention and energy.”

16. *What is the attitude of your children toward having a mother who works, compared to one who stays at home?*

Children who have grown up from babyhood in a home where mother and father both go to work accept this as the way the world is, at least until they begin to realize that all families are not so organized. One nursery school teacher, with children of her own and a wide experience with children from both types of homes, feels that a little child suffers much more from insecurity where a “leisure” mother is “on again, off again” at odd hours, than where the mother appears always at regular hours and disappears to a specified office and job. She stresses the

importance of regularity—which a business life and a sense of the preciousness of the hours devoted to the children seem to help all these professional mothers to maintain.

The phases of the older child's attitude may well be summed up by one little girl. At seven she bowled over her busy mother by announcing, "When I grow up I'm going to be a *plain* lady; then I can stay home with my children." But by ten she had changed her tune. "Mommy," she now said, "you're lots more fun than Sarah's mother. All she talks about is recipes and children's clothes."

17. *What do you consider are the main disadvantages for yourself, for your husband, and for your children? The main advantages?*

As to disadvantages, the answers range from "Honestly, there aren't any," to a recapitulation of the fatigue-and-lack-of-time theme already noted. Specific points include: The ever-present possibility of not doing either job justice; lack of cultural pursuits, such as music; less continuity in family life; rigidity of routine which leaves little leisure for unplanned pleasures or for "doing nothing;" the impossibility of giving up one's job (and one's salary) without feeling like a "quitter;" the tendency to put too much emotional stress on hours spent with the child; missing out on simple joys that should be a part of every mother's daily life, especially when the children are young. "I believe I have missed more in my children's lives than they have missed in mine."

The advantages speak for themselves:

"Our increased economic freedom creates a comfortable, orderly, satisfying existence; we can permit ourselves the luxury of joyousness."

"Keen interests and satisfaction for me in doing a job. For the family, increased income and a mother who isn't dissatisfied due to trying to fit herself into a suburban housewife pattern which would be much more wearing to her than a job."

"For me, work that I like and find stimulating and hope is socially constructive. For my husband it means more interests in common and less financial strain. To the children—an early awareness of contemporary thought."

"It will prevent me, I hope, from concentrating on the child so that I 'own' her. As she grows older I think I can share experiences rather than live vicariously on her. Her life should be her own, and my interests will keep my mind and time full when

she is ready to go her own way. To my husband, it means that I am not always waiting to be taken out and entertained as a relief from household drudgery, but am ready to rest or enjoy quiet 'at homes' with him."

"We've never had time to spoil the children, and from us they've gotten a sense of work as the most joyous part of life. A mother immersed in family life is too likely to be just a cushion to her children."

"I think the main advantages of my professional life are: For myself it brings me into contact with a larger world and gives me impersonal interests which have the twofold effect of developing me, and of making me feel I contribute to the world. They also give me a sense of self-reliance, not only financially but emotionally, so that I am not dependent on any individual but get my sustenance from the world. For my husband and children, it gives them a kind of freedom, knowing that I will not make undue demands on them."

"We have a very satisfying life. Our eggs are not all in the same basket. The security in the present situation is appreciated by all of us. I am fortified for the period when our children will go to college and leave me with less responsibility at home."

"Our professional companionship — sharing of work, mutual interests and aims — has been a very large factor in the success of our marriage. It has created an interesting, stimulating companionship between my husband and myself which has been good for the children, too."

"My work constantly gives me ideas and material which my husband and I work out together; it has meant a more intimate intellectual partnership than we could have had without it; it has also meant a kind of security to me as a person that I probably couldn't have had without it. It has given a kind of intensity and preciousness to home life which I think it couldn't have if I never got out of it."

It would appear from their own testimony that these women are finding "a double life" happy and satisfying—but strenuous. Economic and emotional independence, a willingness not to possess the children, stimulating companionship between husband and wife, a life interest to pursue after the children are grown—these seem worth the great effort they demand. Only one woman says that "if she had it to do over again, she would do differently." Most would agree with one who summed it all up by saying, "It's a hard life and sometimes I think 'I can't take it' any more—but it's grand going."

Parents' Questions and Discussion

These discussions, selected because of their interest in connection with the topic of this issue, are presented for the use of individuals and of study groups.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

CÉCILE PILPEL, *Director*—JOSETTE FRANK, *Editor*

I am so inexperienced and inept that I have insisted upon having a trained baby's nurse take full charge of my baby. My husband seems so horrified at this, however, that I wonder whether it would not be better to let the baby suffer my inexpert care, in order to convince my husband that I am not shirking my duty.

Mothers aren't born with a knowledge of baby-care; they achieve it. And most of us achieve it painfully in the course of caring for our first baby. This is not to say that we must approach the task without any knowledge whatever. There are many excellent books from which you may equip yourself with at least rudimentary facts concerning babies and their needs. With these as a basis, plus, if possible, a few first "lessons" and suggestions from some experienced person in the actual handling, the baby need not "suffer" at your hands. If the baby is normal and healthy, there is nothing so complicated about his care, and you may be comforted to realize that millions of babies have survived despite their mothers' ineptitude!

Of course, all of this presupposes that you are interested in the task, that you are not avoiding baby-care because it will interfere with other things you value more—your freedom, your fun, your work. In your case, baby-care does not seem necessarily to imply that you must take complete charge of him day and night. It means rather that you accept the responsibility. Responsibility for the baby's physical and emotional well-being, and the consequent interest and pleasure in his growth and development, bring their own reward in terms of deepening bonds and enriched affections.

Before the depression played havoc with our lives, my children, now eleven and thirteen,

had always had a respectful, if not too concrete, interest in their father's business. Both he and I taught them to think of him as the provider; if he was absent all day, tired in the evenings, and entitled to privileges on holidays, it was because his hard work was the price he paid for all that we had. Now he has been unemployed for two years, and although I have been lucky in finding a job which keeps us fed and housed, I feel that the situation has had an unfortunate effect upon the relationship of the children to their father. They can't understand why he can't find a job if I can, or why, if I have to be out working, he can't run the house and care for them as I used to. I don't mind the meager income, but there ought to be some way to prevent this tragic destruction of human relationships.

You voice one of the deepest human problems of the present economic situation, one which puts to the severest test both the philosophy and the adaptability of human beings. Your problem is to change an attitude which the parents, and therefore the children, have accepted for many years. The last few years have plunged us into the unexpected necessity of overhauling our former values and standards—man the provider, woman the administrator in the home. That these roles had been too sharply adhered to even when they seemed feasible only intensifies our plight today. It is possible, however, for husbands to learn, and for wives to help them to find, that the father's place in his children's lives may be vastly more than that of mere provider. He may be increasingly their friend, their teacher, their playmate, their counselor—if he can find within himself a wisdom more vital than any for which he has ever been called upon before. Many fathers out of work have used the occasion to discover their children; and their children have, in turn, discovered

them as human beings, to love and admire for themselves, not just as providers to whom an abstract respect is due. The important thing, I believe, is for the parents, especially the father, to be able to sustain the feeling of his real worth and importance, even though, for the moment, it appears economically nil. If he feels it, so will the children. They do not judge their father solely on the basis of his earning powers unless the father does so himself. Is it possible that in your efforts to spare your husband and to sympathize with the enormous discouragement he must be feeling, you have not demanded enough of him? He can still, if he is challenged, be a real force in his home and perform a function in every way worthy of a man. If he does it well and both he and you recognize its worth, so will the children.

I am that problematic creature, the "woman of forty" (forty-four to be exact, but with plenty of health and energy, though willing to concede that middle-age is upon me). Now that my children are practically grown up, I am "out of a job" as an all-day mother. My husband and I are congenial and he is not only sympathetic to my problem but would make, I know, any reasonable sacrifice to help me solve it. But his business keeps him hard at work all day long, and my work, running the house, attending to little errands for the children, is increasingly boring. Yet "movements" leave me cold; they seem insincere. At any rate, I have never been a "joiner." Practical chores I do easily, I am told—capable, but helpless apparently. Why does the world's work pass me by? I think it would find me willing.

In part, of course, you are the victim of a transition period in society. The tendency to small families and the taking over by agencies other than the home of much of women's former work (the making of clothing and the education of children, for example), have left them, for a large period of their life, unemployed. The problem is hard to meet single handed, but it needs to be faced as clearly as you are trying to, over and over again. The work of the world of which you speak demands training as well as willingness. And even on the side of willingness, have you faced frankly the question of whether you would be willing to stick to a job, if a vacation with your husband offered itself, or a protracted visit from the children? You are wise, however, in sensing that not only yourself, but your husband, your children, and your prospective grand-

children will be better off, if you have interests which are truly vital and make upon you demands of responsibility and intelligence. It is practically impossible to give you any specific advice. You may have to reconcile yourself to several years of trial and error and a persistent policy of feeling your way. You will often be irritated, disillusioned, discouraged. You will need an infinite amount of persistence; and if there is no acute financial necessity in your own affairs which forces you to keep at it, your task is ten times harder. Good luck to you!

A father writes, "For many years I have been a teacher of chemistry in a small university. The income is small but I have had a chance to work on some research problems which interest me. Recently I have been offered a position in a large city with a commercial house promising a much higher salary. My two teens-age daughters were jubilant, apparently taking it for granted that the object of work is financial reward. My wife, I believe, would be sincerely sorry to leave her home and friends in our college town, but seems to feel that for the sake of the children I should consider it. I am a good practical chemist with, I believe, enough business sense to do the job satisfactorily. But my first love is for the pursuit of certain theoretical problems. In this respect I am no creative genius, so that while following such a course would give great joy to me, it would probably not result in a new discovery to the world. Have I a right to this luxury?"

What you call a luxury for yourself can, from another and, I believe, deeper point of view, be regarded as a worthy life value in and of itself. "Great joy" in one's work—in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake—is rare enough and valuable enough to be preserved and treasured, even though it entails some sacrifice on the part of others. But as you state the situation, it is not at all clear that the sacrifice involved is a real one. Why should one suppose that for two growing girls, life in a large city on a "city" income will give them more in the way of either character development or happiness than their present life offers them? The role of provider is only one of a father's obligations to his family. Beyond financial security he must be in a position to offer them generously from his store of wisdom. And he must also offer them a home which, to be fully sound, should be founded as nearly as possible on the satisfactory inner adjustment of both father and mother. It would seem that not only you

and your wife but your children also would be the losers if you were to exchange a life of spiritual and social satisfaction for yourselves for one of ill-considered and superficial values. Your daughters are probably not yet mature enough to understand

all that is involved. I suggest that after you have become clear in your own mind as to the wisdom of your course you discuss it fully with them. You may meet with more understanding and appreciation than you have anticipated.

Suggestions for Study—Parents as People

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. EMOTIONAL ATTITUDE OF THE YOUNG MOTHER

Sources of satisfaction

fulfillment of avowed life purpose
close relationship due to physical care of the baby
desire to enrich and develop one's own personality
enrichment of mutual interests of husband and wife
enlarging "hold on life" through the children

Sources of possible difficulty

emotional immaturity of the mother
inexperience and insecurity in caring for the baby
sense of restricted movement and outlook

2. EMOTIONAL ATTITUDE OF THE YOUNG FATHER

Sources of satisfaction

father as family protector
enrichment of mutual interests of husband and wife
enlarging "hold on life" through the children

Sources of possible difficulty

interruption of intimate association with the wife
lack of emotional understanding of the mother
overemphasis on role of provider

3. THE MOTHER AS A PERSON

Changing phases of the mother's role

development of her own potentialities as children's needs change
need to keep up interests in community; in profession

Special problems of the "home-keeping" mother

Special problems of the mother with an outside job

4. PARENTS AND ADULT CHILDREN

Learning to let children do things "on their own"

Relinquishing of parental control without lessening of mutual concern and interest

Continuous development of skill and interest in maintaining a life not wholly centered around children's lives

Renewed companionship between husband and wife

baby and likes to help. His wife rather resents his interference in her domain. How can they be helped to adjust these difficulties?

2. The mother of two children, five and eight, has the opportunity of returning to work similar to that which she did prior to her marriage. A fairly large part of the money she would earn would go for extra household help, afternoon play groups, etc. What are the arguments for and against her accepting the offer?

3. It is sometimes stated that no home should house three generations. In families where grandparents live, what are the elements that make for harmony? for difficulties?

4. A graduate student at a large university would like to marry another student. He could do so if his parents and the girl's parents would continue to send them the allowances they are now providing for them, and had expected to continue until their studies are completed. Should such a marriage be encouraged?

REFERENCE READING

MIDDLETOWN

By Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. Harcourt Brace 550 pp. 1929

THE MOTHERS

By Robert Briffault. The Macmillan Company. 319 pp. 1931

OUR CHILDREN: A HANDBOOK FOR PARENTS

Ed. by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie M. Gruenberg. The Viking Press. 348 pp. 1932

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By Alice Withrow Field. D. P. Dutton Co. 241 pp. 1932

A SHORT HISTORY OF WOMEN

By John Langdon-Davies. The Viking Press. 382 pp. 1927

THE WAY OF ALL WOMEN

By M. Esther Harding. Longmans Green and Company. 335 pp. 1933

LOVE IN THE MACHINE AGE

By Floyd Dell. Farrar and Rinehart. 428 pp. 1930

RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1,568 pp. 1933

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Mr. A. is the oldest of a large family and has always been accustomed to babies and young children. Mrs. A. is an only child who had never even seen a tiny baby before her own was born. The young father is the more skilful in caring for the

Book Reviews

Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis. Ives Hendrick, M.D. Alfred A. Knopf. 308 pages, 1934.

Here at last is a tersely and graphically written book on psychoanalysis, addressed to the intelligent layman by one of the relatively few accredited students of this science. The publication of such a volume has a special significance to all those who, though looking upon Freud's discoveries as vital truths, have wrung their hands over the sins popular publications have committed in his name.

The author ungrudgingly and without condescension gives well organized and explicit information about facts and theories of psychoanalysis, as well as a candid description of how the analyst himself regards his own work. For too long the earnest, creative student of analysis has met the deluge of books on "what makes us what we are today" by turning his attention more and more exclusively to his own scientific work. It is a sign of the analyst's growing respect for the intelligent public when, in the author's acknowledgment, appear the names of analysts who are here for the first time associated with a book intended for the general public.

The content of the book itself gives equally ample proof of the completeness of the material presented. The division into four sections serves to clarify the detailed discussions. Under the section on The Facts of Psychoanalysis the author discusses the unconscious, psychosexuality, punishment phantasies, and psychoneuroses. Under The Theories of Psychoanalysis he includes instincts, psychosexuality and aggression, and the structure of personality. Therapy by Psychoanalysis gives a summary of psychoanalytic method and treatment. In the final section, on the Present Status of Psychoanalysis, particular attention should be called to the discussion of the stringent qualifications as to training and practice demanded of the physician who wishes to become an accredited psychoanalyst and a member of an official psychoanalytical society. Part IV also deals with the relationship of psychoanalysts to the work of Jung, Adler, and Rank.

The glossary of psychoanalytic terms, and the suggestions for further reading which are appended

will also be very helpful. For everyone interested in gaining an authoritative and well balanced picture of what psychoanalysis is, and is doing, today, this book will fill a real need.

RUTH BRICKNER

Children of the New Day. Katherine Glover and Evelyn Dewey. Appleton-Century Co. 432 pages, 1934.

This is another volume in the Century Childhood Library which brings together the findings of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. In the prologue the authors state that their purpose is "to present some of the trends and to interpret some of the thoughts and facts brought together by the experts of the conference committees." Actually, however, they go further than a mere presentation; they interpret in the light of their own belief that "the only real gift we can pass on to children today is an awareness. The depression shocked us into an awareness that all was not well with the material world we had built. It has not yet brought us to an awareness of what is to come out of that readjustment."

The book is addressed primarily to parents, teachers, and social workers. It is divided into six major parts: Backgrounds, Drama of Growth, The World They Live and Move In, Education By and Large, The By-Products, and Children of Tomorrow. At the end of each section discussion points are given.

Here and there in the book the authors have a tendency to set down as facts controversial points which are open to grave question. They say, for example, that "war has been stripped of its illusion and has become ridiculous." One might hope that this statement were true, but unfortunately it is perhaps more the expression of a wish than of a fact.

The material is presented clearly, and those pages which deal with the physical, mental, and emotional growth of the child, as well as those which show the relation of nutrition to growth, and discuss the development of habits, are especially helpful. The chapters on education are also worth careful reading; for the authors here make a vital contribution in their evaluation of new educational techniques. V. A. J.

In the Magazines

School and Home, November, 1934. Entire Issue.

The topic of this issue is "Educating the Adult of Tomorrow." V. T. Thayer writes from the point of view of the educator; H. L. Lurie, as a sociologist; Margaret E. Fries, as a physician; and Nannette Rothschild, as a parent. There are also Comments of Teachers by Helen D. Richards, Emma Mueden, and Alice C. Rodewald. The aims of schools are clearly set forth, and many suggestions for extra-curricular activities are given. Miss Mueden's article discusses the social problems of the adolescent girl with suggestions for their solution.

The Dollar Sign in Family Life. By Sidonie M. Gruenberg. Parents' Magazine, December, 1934.

Since the home is a unit in which all members must participate in sharing responsibilities, each family member should have some money under his control, even to spend foolishly if he likes. Children have a right to know as much as they can understand about the budget problems of the family.

Finding Fault with Our Parents. By Virginia Hines. Woman's Home Companion, January, 1935.

The author, writing from the point of view of adolescents, stresses the point that parents do not consider their children as people with lives and ideas of their own. Miss Hines feels that parents should realize that because children sometimes make mistakes in carrying out small errands, there is no reason to feel that they cannot undertake larger responsibilities. She suggests that if families engage in activities together, parents grow to appreciate their children as people, and learn to attach more weight to the opinions of the younger generation.

Betrothal. By Paul Popenoe. Journal of Social Hygiene, December, 1934.

A discussion of the betrothal period from the aspects of sexual selection, mutual accommodation, and biological and psychological maturation. Reasons against pre-marital sexual relations are discussed.

A Father Speaks His Mind. By Floyd Dell. Delinquent, November, 1934.

The author feels that the chief function of a father, particularly the father of an adolescent, is to "stand for a while between the child and the insecurity of

the world." He feels that the only real way in which fathers can help their children make their way in the modern world is "to give them in childhood the security of our love."

Something New Under the Sun? By B. J. R. Stolper. Progressive Education, November, 1934.

An account of the discussion arising from the study of Plato's *Republic* in a senior high school world literature class. A detailed and most interesting class discussion of various modern Utopias is given.

Scholastic, November 24, 1934. Entire issue.

This issue is devoted to dramatics in the high school. It includes a stimulating article by Max J. Herzberg on Why Tragedy, a description of The One-Act Comedy of Character by Jean Lee Latham, illustrated by a one-act play, *More Than a Million*, by Mollie Kelly, and a clear description of Methods of Characterization in Acting by Katharine Anne Ommannney. There is also a page of photographs of scenes from various high school plays.

Marionettes in the Home. By Howard L. White. Woman's Home Companion, December, 1934.

A detailed description of how to construct a marionette stage and puppets from simple materials.

A New Plan for Holidays. By Rae Norden Sauder. The Parents' Magazine, December, 1934.

An account of a group organized by mothers of girls from eleven to fourteen in Philadelphia which met to play games every day during Christmas vacation. The organization and activities were well planned, and the girls return to school in excellent health and spirits.

The Parent, the Dentist, and the Child. By F. F. Smith. Hygeia, November, 1934.

A description of the first and second teeth, with reasons for the importance of preventive dentistry. Not frightening the child is especially stressed.

Protect Your Baby's Appetite. By Regina J. Woody. The Parents' Magazine, December, 1934.

Simple detailed directions for feeding a baby so that he will enjoy his food, and will not refuse to eat unless he is sick.

Parents, Children, and Radio

*A summary of the symposium held under the auspices of
the Child Study Association of America.*

WHATEVER our angle of interest in radio for children—as parents, educators, artists, advertisers, or broadcasters—our one big need is to “keep our heads.” In opening the symposium on *Radio for Children*, held under the auspices of the Child Study Association on November 19 at the Waldorf-Astoria, Levering Tyson, as chairman, set this keynote, which was re-emphasized by all the speakers.

In addition to Mr. Tyson, who is Director of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, these were: Walter Damrosch, dean of American music education; Merrill Dennison, critic and author of outstanding radio dramas, including *Great Moments of History*; Franklin Dunham, Educational Director of the National Broadcasting Company; John Lovejoy Elliott, Leader of the Ethical Culture Society and Headworker at Hudson Guild; Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Child Study Association of America and Chairman of the Parent Education Committee of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education; John Martin, writer for children and Juvenile Counselor of the National Broadcasting Company; Sigmund Spaeth, author and music critic; and Frederick Willis, Assistant to the President of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

A condensed summary cannot attempt to give more than a composite picture of these detailed discussions, which, while admitting the radio's many “sins of omission and commission,” emphasized its very real accomplishments and its possibilities for future growth.

It is too early to estimate with any degree of certainty the effects of this force which was let loose on the world only fourteen years ago. Its influence—social, political, cultural, and economic—remains immeasurable and to some degree unpredictable. Sweeping condemnations of something about which we know so little are therefore still un-

warranted. Some outstanding contributions to our cultural life have already been made. These have been largely in the field of music; for only the musician brought to the radio professional standards and the authority to insist that they be observed. Many current broadcasts of outstanding news events also indicate a notable advance.

Radio's growing place in music education is amply illustrated by the music appreciation programs for children which have now been carried on for a number of years. These programs reach six million children, many of them in isolated country schools scattered over great stretches of country far removed from cultural centers.

Yet, although radio is the greatest instrument for education since printing, it does have certain limitations. The proposal that broadcasting companies should turn over twenty-five per cent of their allotted time to educational bodies for educational purposes is unsound, because the art of broadcasting demands technique, which radio experts have learned—and teachers, as a whole, have not. To be interesting over the radio is more demanding than to hold together a classroom, where the face of the lecturer and various teaching devices overcome many of the limitations of the bare spoken word.

Nor must we expect the impossible. Though we can give the child a familiarity with and an appreciation of good music, we cannot, for instance, teach techniques, such as piano or singing, via radio. We cannot even expect the good work of music appreciation—for which radio is admirably fitted—to produce a generation of Mozarts. And yet the establishment of tens of thousands of high school orchestras, which may be directly traced to the radio's influence, gives evidence of the added joy which this musical stimulus is bringing into children's lives.

Drama is not so easily transferred from its traditional setting as is music. A Beethoven symphony,

for instance, does not have to be rewritten for the radio, and a Shakespearean play does.

Merrill Yet although little creative work
Dennison has been done in this field, the radio
 is potentially as worth while as a
dramatic form as is either stage or screen. It achieves
its effects with great simplicity and economy, and
places no barriers on the flight of imagination. Given
great writing, there is no reason why the radio play
should not be as stimulating intellectually and as
moving emotionally as those of the traditional theatre.

So far, however, these possibilities have been seldom realized. And meantime people have been so surfeited with mediocre entertainment that the radio "craze" seems to be dying down. Perhaps, therefore, the time is particularly ripe for educational ventures on the air. But to attempt any serious educational effort without the assistance of the professional writer and director seems a waste of time. We will do well to remember that writers with the ability to create and directors with the experience to direct educational programs are few and far between—and cost money.

Serious as they seem, these technical difficulties are, however, not the only problems. Perhaps the most important question we must ask ourselves is why children are so passionately addicted to the very programs—impossible mysteries and slapstick comedies — which their parents most

earnestly deplore. The profound need of children for thrills and adventure, not all of which seem reasonable to the adult mind, cannot be ignored by any effort to improve the radio. For both psychological research and the opinions of competent observers must lead to the conclusion that there are many kinds of vicarious experience which children need.

Looking backward, radio appears as but the latest of cultural emergents to invade the putative privacy of the home. Each such invasion finds the parents unprepared, frightened, resentful, and helpless. Thus, within a comparatively short time, the movie, the automobile, the telephone, the sensational newspaper or magazine, the funnies—and now the radio, has each in its own way challenged the privacy of the home and roused the apprehension of parents. Any instrument which injects new and disturbing ideas into the home brings difficulties which cannot be solved on the basis of earlier experiences or earlier criteria of conduct. To point out that we have grad-

ually assimilated these other "invaders" and to expect therefore that, in spite of its special difficulties, we shall before long find for the radio its proper place is not to belittle the problem.

The specific problems of radio for children are those having to do, on the one hand, with the home—adjusting time and choice of program with as little conflict as possible, either between the members of the family or between the radio and other activities; and, on the other hand, with the quality and character of the broadcasting, as it affects the growing personalities of eventual citizens. The worries of parents in regard to radio are serious, and their grievances for the most part are warranted; but there is so much of the hysterical among the criticisms that we have to be particularly careful to envisage the situation in its entirety. A censoring, negative approach is in the long run unproductive, although it is understandable as a manifestation of outraged feelings. Positive efforts are likely to be more effective, if they extend only to the replacing of "black lists" with "white lists." If children are to develop taste and discrimination, they need guidance, rather than repression.

To guide children, we must have insight into the child's heart and a real understanding of his own point of view. The childlike vision is something which few adults have been able to preserve. To know what is good for children we must seek to recapture that vision, or, failing that, we must take the lead of those who understand children better than the average parent or teacher.

If radio is to educate—to "lead out" in the fullest and richest sense—it will need to enlist not only artists and technicians, but also those rare individuals who *know* children. It is a tremendous responsibility to be talking not only to *all* children, but to *all kinds* of children. In the light of this responsibility, what are the social obligations of the radio? What is its duty toward the community? What kind of unity is being brought about through its influence? It is the only thing that goes into every kind of home; in tenement homes and in carefully guarded homes, children are hearing the same programs—educational or not.

What do youngsters tune in when nobody is looking or listening? That is where they get their edu-

cation—not from the radio programs designed for school use or from the programs their parents select.

The radio has to a certain extent taken the place in children's experience of the thriller and the mystery story. While there is probably little harm in this phase of its entertainment, we would like to see children thrill to the best, rather than to the worst, in contemporary life. But the thrills must be real. We do as much harm by making virtue repulsive as by making vice attractive. It is a question whether radio would be allowed to do a first-class job in some ways. History, for instance, has become a dangerous subject. And yet an international broadcast for children could be made both educational and dramatic—a link from nation to nation, so full of life interest that children would tune in on it themselves.

In all this concern over children's programs, we may be in danger of ignoring adult programs, to which children also listen. And why shouldn't they?

Sigmund
Spaeth

We shall never do much for the radio if we put all of the emphasis on children's programs. The average child likes about the same sort of program as the average adult. There are certain unusually intelligent adults and certain precocious children whom we shall have to count out. But, by and large, if a program appeals to intelligent adults, it will also appeal to intelligent children. Children's tastes are not so peculiar. It is never necessary to talk down to them.

As a final word, the public should take an active rather than a passive interest in the radio. Every time a good program comes on the air, all of us who like it should take the trouble to write to the broadcasting company or sponsor. The broadcasters seldom know whether a program is being well received or not. We as individuals are responsible for whatever goes on the air, just as we are responsible for what we see on the screen and in the theater. Radio will do its best only when the intelligent public demands it.

The variety of good programs already on the air offers the public a fairly wide choice. Some of the best of these are, of course, in music; but the vivid accounts of outstanding events, in sports and in important news, and the increasing number of good dramatic programs point to some of the lines along which radio is finding itself. If we

Franklin
Dunham

hear more complaints of the cheap music and cheaper comedy than praise of these more superior programs, it may be at least in part because the public as a whole needs to become more discriminating.

Those on the inside of radio are the first to admit that their field is new. And because of their youth, they are, they believe, flexible, still growing, and willing to change. Many of the things which those interested in improving radio for children advocate have already been tried, or are now on the air. International programs and dramas based on history or biography are not innovations. Some have, of course, been more successful than others. Our problem is to experiment, to sift out what works, and to take our lead from what the public—men, women, and children—really want.

In all this we are aware that it is not a question of some of us telling the rest what should be done; it is a question of all who care giving their thought, their insight, and their sympathy. "Murdering the King's English," the exploiting of child-performers, the exaggeration of elemental fears and horrors, the crude overemphasis of sales appeals directed at children—these and other practices are legitimately open to severe criticism. But we shall not better the present situation by taking a narrow view. The commercial interests are as concerned as are parents; and the way out is through the working together to discover new paths in this uncharted territory.

A proposal for a "clearing house" on all matters pertaining to radio for children has been drawn up by a special committee representing the American Library Association, the Progressive Education Association, and the Child Study Association. The tentative plans which this committee has worked out during the past year were presented to representatives of national organizations at a meeting on November 22, and it is expected that they will be finally approved by these organizations in the near future. Such a central agency will offer both the interested public and the broadcasting companies and sponsors a practical means of achieving the cooperation, for which they all feel an immediate need.

A Central
Agency
Proposed

News and Notes

Two of the most urgent problems confronting parents today will be discussed at Child Study Association Headquarters during January. A symposium on What Is Youth will be held on Wednesday, January 9, at 8:30 p.m. The problems with which boys and girls and their parents must grapple, as soon as school days are over, will be discussed in relation to emotional and vocational adjustment. The point of view of those who leave school early, as well as of the college graduate, will be considered by educators who are in immediate touch with young people of many types.

A special course on Religion in Experience and Culture will be held in cooperation with members of the Philosophy Department of Columbia University. These eight lectures, beginning Monday evening, January 21, at 8:30 o'clock, are offered to meet the need, continuously expressed by parents, for comprehensive consideration of the problems of religion in relation to child training. The lectures have the practical intention of helping parents meet this concrete question. They do not represent the viewpoint of particular religious institutions, but nevertheless aim to offer something more than a collection of theories about religion.

A detailed program will be found in the Calendar on the inside front cover.

Parent Education for Social Workers

The Summer Play Schools Committee of the Child Study Association is offering its third annual Social Workers Discussion Group during January and February. Meetings will be held Friday mornings from 10:30 to 12, beginning January 11. Discussions will cover practical family relationship situations such as social workers and home visitors meet in their everyday contacts with parents. The point of view and techniques of parent education will form the background for all the discussions. The first three meetings will be conducted by Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Association; her topics will be The

Primary Influences of the Home and The Interactions of the Members of the Family, The Place of Authority in Family Life, and The Growth of Freedom in the Family Setting. Following all the sessions, Jean Schick Grossman, Parent Education Associate of the Summer Play Schools Committee, will discuss with the group the specific application of principles and methods to their practical problems.

1935 Needs of Children— A Conference

A National Conference on the 1935 Needs of Children will be held on the afternoons of January 3 and 4 at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, under the auspices of *The Parents' Magazine*. The Conference will be opened by Fiorello H. La Guardia, Mayor of the City of New York, whose topic is "Child Labor Must Go Forever." The other speakers and topics will be: Grace Abbott, Retiring Chief, U. S. Children's Bureau, "The Forgotten Child"; Dr. John K. Norton, Chairman of the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, "The Plight of the Nation's Schools"; Aubrey Williams, Assistant Federal Relief Administrator, "Children of the Unemployed." At the second session, Katherine F. Lenroot, Chief, U. S. Children's Bureau, will speak on "What Children Have a Right to Expect of Us." Homer Folks, Secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, will discuss "Children and the New Deal"; and Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York, "Homeless Boys and Girls on the March." George Hecht and Mrs. Harold Littledale will act as chairmen at the two sessions.

Between the main speeches on both afternoons there will be five minute reports on the 1935 programs of the following national organizations: Camp Fire Girls, Child Welfare League of America, American Child Health Association, Child Study Association of America, National Recreation Association, National Child Welfare Association, National Council on Parent Education, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, National Child Labor Committee, and National Probation Association. Admission is free. For tickets, write *The Parents' Magazine*, 9 East 40th Street, New York.

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Conflicts of Motherhood

(Continued from page 107)

these deviations sufficiently refreshed to accept with renewed understanding the part she was playing in life. Conflicts and deprivations there were and, as she well knew, would always be. But, since she was secure in her family's need and love, a sense of values—and a sense of humor—helped her to an unpredicted success as wife and mother.

It is evident then that the "modern woman" reacts to her problem in a variety of ways, some more successful than others. But now that economic stress has accentuated the reaction—which in any case was bound sooner or later to follow—against the feminist "liberation" of women, there are those who wonder if we could not avoid even the possibility of conflict by the wholesale return of women to their traditional role. But what if we were to save all the jobs and professions, as well as the intellectual and æsthetic culture, for the males of the species? That would hardly solve the problem; for we may well suspect that cultivated men would prefer as companions cultivated women; and that if boys are to be civilized, they would thrive better in the hands of civilized mothers.

The solution of the conflict is to be rather found in a frank and wider recognition of woman's distinctive place in life, and of the mother's distinctive place in the home. This frank recognition demands of the individual woman sufficient maturity to admit that there *are* conflicts and sufficient courage to face that fact without either retreating to the protection of the traditional role, or rationalizing an escape into outside preoccupations. When women have not only an intellectual grasp upon their world, but also an emotional balance in all their deepest and most personal relationships, they are able to accept the world—and themselves—for what they are.

There are, of course, individual differences that will relieve some women definitely from home-making, and some wives from motherhood. But for the vast majority we may expect that fulfillment will involve motherhood. And whether one carries on any considerable activity outside the home, the distinctive business of motherhood may well call for adequate preparation and orientation, and for continuous stimulation to personal growth.

In its February issue, *CHILD STUDY* will continue the publication of chapters from *My Little Boy*, by Carl Ewald.



A richly informative book for all workers, students, and those who require an accurate, scientific knowledge of child nature.

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MACMILLAN—New York

The Editors' Page



TO REMAIN in school, or plunge headlong into a precarious hunt for a job? To stay uselessly at home, or strike out for myself? To marry on nothing at all, or wait on indefinitely?

THESE questions sound familiar, since nearly everyone has had at some time to face them. Today an army of some four million young people who are neither in school nor at work must all at once make such vital decisions under circumstances that nobody can either understand or control. The pride which America for two generations has taken in its "prolongation of infancy" has turned into a cruel mockery, as the burden of our common predicament is seen to fall so largely upon the youth whom we had sought to favor with all the benefits of our civilization. If that pride was vain, it is equally vain to reproach ourselves or one another for the collapse; for nobody had deliberately planned either the processes through which we prospered or their appalling consequences.

WHAT had been private and personal concerns have suddenly come to be a common and urgent problem which can be solved only through deliberate and general planning. Whether we think of "recovery" or of "reconstruction," these young men and women must not be allowed to feel that they are of no use. They must have constructive and obviously useful work, whether they can find employers or not. And that not merely to keep them out of mischief, not merely to yield a wage; it is imperative to give them self-assurance and a grasp of the world in which they are to live. And they must, moreover, have the chance to marry and to start homes of their own.

THESE urgently needed opportunities are to be looked upon not as gratuitous favors or as emergency concessions while waiting, but as integral parts of whatever we may plan for the preserving and furthering of our civilization. In the course of the years the young people of today will come to live their own lives. The transition, however, may involve chaos and endless suffering, unless we can act promptly and wisely to salvage the human values hitherto mismanaged like surplus cotton or cattle.

Sidonie Matzner Gruenberg

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WHAT IS AHEAD FOR YOUTH?

CONTENTS

The Editors' Page - - - - -	129
SIDONIE M. GRUENBERG	
Backgrounds of Youth - - - - -	131
LYMAN BRYSON	
The Dilemma of Youth - - - - -	132
MARK A. MAY	
Training for Business - - - - -	136
I. EDWIN GOLDWASSER	
College Training for the Woman of Tomorrow - - - - -	139
CONSTANCE WARREN	
The College Graduate's Prospects - - - - -	141
MAX McCONN	
Education in the CCC - - - - -	142
C. S. MARSH	
The Question and the Questioners - - - - -	144
E. VAN NORMAN EMERY	
Youth Speaks for Itself - - - - -	146
My Little Boy - - - - -	149
CARL EWALD	
Parents' Questions - - - - -	151
Book Reviews - - - - -	154
Young People's Reading - - - - -	155
In the Magazines - - - - -	156
News and Notes - - - - -	157

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